184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
[644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[644] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534] called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 643 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who,
631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek,
[192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension,
[643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imitkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Iḥaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
[171] among the Iḥaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
192 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
568 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

567 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Ămăstan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

564 We must acknowledge that the [153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma- 564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why 644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as [152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp 361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek, [198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

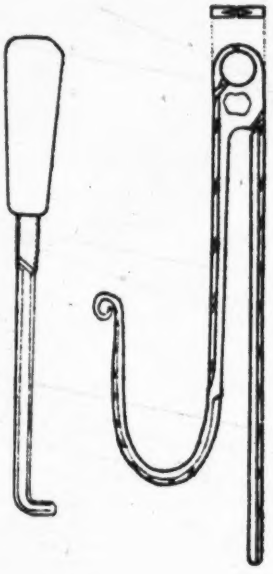

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as [174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 643 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a grandson of the former Aménokal Aïtarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Aménokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Ait Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Ait Loaïen.

[178] 161 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] [582] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[68] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaŭa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhaĭra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[24] of Tigeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hăda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods.
592 Each tent is occupied by a single family unit
361 and there are almost never more than 5 or 6 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness. In the old
291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

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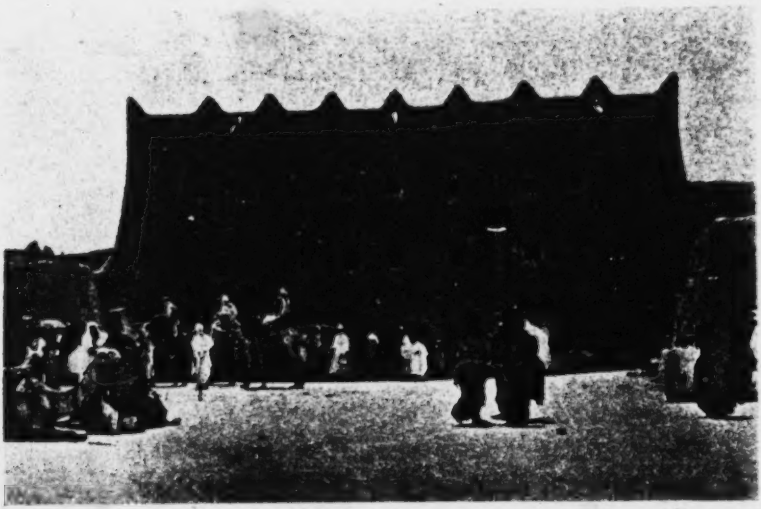

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a
[534] short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ouui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more
[114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the